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Public Opinion & Environmental Policy in the Commonwealth

Views of Virginia Voters in 2017



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Executive Summary

The Wason Center for Public Policy has conducted several studies of Virginians' environmental attitudes, behavior, and policy preferences over the years for the Virginia Environmental Endowment, the first being a series of studies in 2009, 2010, and 2011. This study, which focuses on environmental attitudes, concerns, and policy preferences, is sponsored by the Virginia Environmental Endowment as part of their 40th Anniversary initiatives. The study is based upon interviews of 826 registered Virginia voters conducted between January 29 and February 12, 2017, including 382 landline interviews and 443 cell phone interviews. The survey has a margin of error of +/- 3.7% at the 95% level of confidence.

In this study we revisit questions and topics first examined in the 2009, 2010, and 2011 studies, and also examine current environmental issues. This report provides a summary of the key findings and provides insights for understanding those findings. The findings can be leveraged by elected officials, policy advocates, and citizens generally to help understand Virginians' perceptions of environmental issues and their policy preferences, and how those preferences might affect their behavior generally and at the ballot box.

Several important themes emerge from this study of Virginia voters' attitudes and policy preferences on the environment:

1. Over the last 20 years, Virginia voters have become increasingly optimistic about the quality of the Commonwealth's natural environment, giving it an improved grade from "C" to "B". Voters say the environment is important to them personally, and want it to be a priority for the next governor
2. Water quality concerns top the list of environmental issues facing Virginia, according to voters, and they worry the state is doing too little on contamination of tap water and adequacy of drinking water supplies.

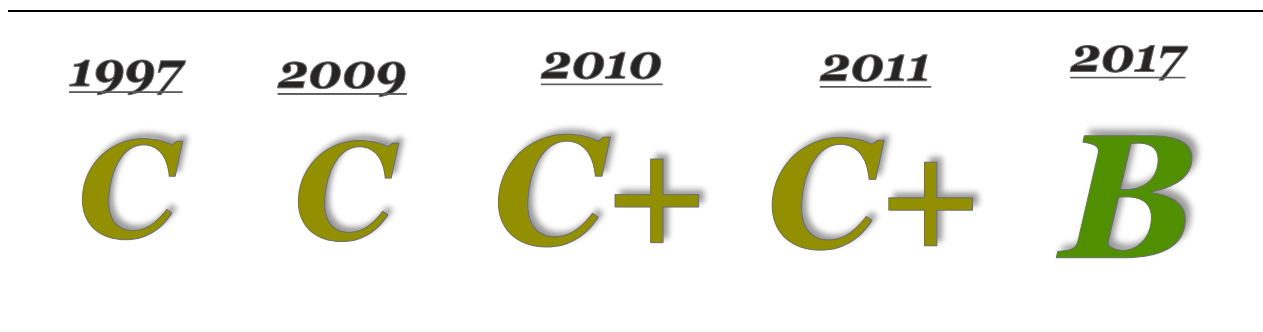
3. Voter support for the Chesapeake Bay restoration was among the strongest opinions expressed with a near unanimous majority strongly supporting placing continued priority on implementing the regional plan to clean up the Bay.
4. Virginia voters are supportive of action on several environmental policies, and support enforcement of current environmental laws and regulations. They do not generally see a conflict between the environment and the economy, favor the environment if forced to make a choice, and think enforcement of environmental laws and regulations can occur simultaneously with economic growth.
5. Virginia voters want the federal government to play a greater role than they perceive it currently does in protecting the Commonwealth's environment and natural resources. They do not favor rolling back environmental protections.
6. Virginia voters are supportive of continued state level actions to reduce carbon dioxide emissions, even if federal requirements are rolled back. They also favor continuing tax credits for landowners who voluntarily preserve their land, as well as, increased environmental literacy requirements for students.
7. The poll also showed that a relatively large percentage of Virginia voters need additional information on current issues associated with sea level rise, fracking in the coastal region, and offshore drilling in order to evaluate progress on those issues.

Analysis

Over the past 20 years, Virginians have become increasingly optimistic about the overall quality of the state’s natural environment and see environmental issues as important both personally and as public policy issues

The Commonwealth’s natural environment - from the Blue Ridge Mountains in the west to the Chesapeake Bay and the Atlantic Ocean in the east, from Great Falls Park in the north to the great pine forests in the south, and everything in between - is a source of pride to Virginians. The perception of the quality of the state’s natural environment has improved over the last 20 years for many of them as shown in Figure 1, with the grade Virginia voters give the natural environment steadily increasing, from an overall grade of “C” in 1997¹ to an overall grade of “B” in 2017.

Figure 1: Virginians’ grade the natural environment over the years

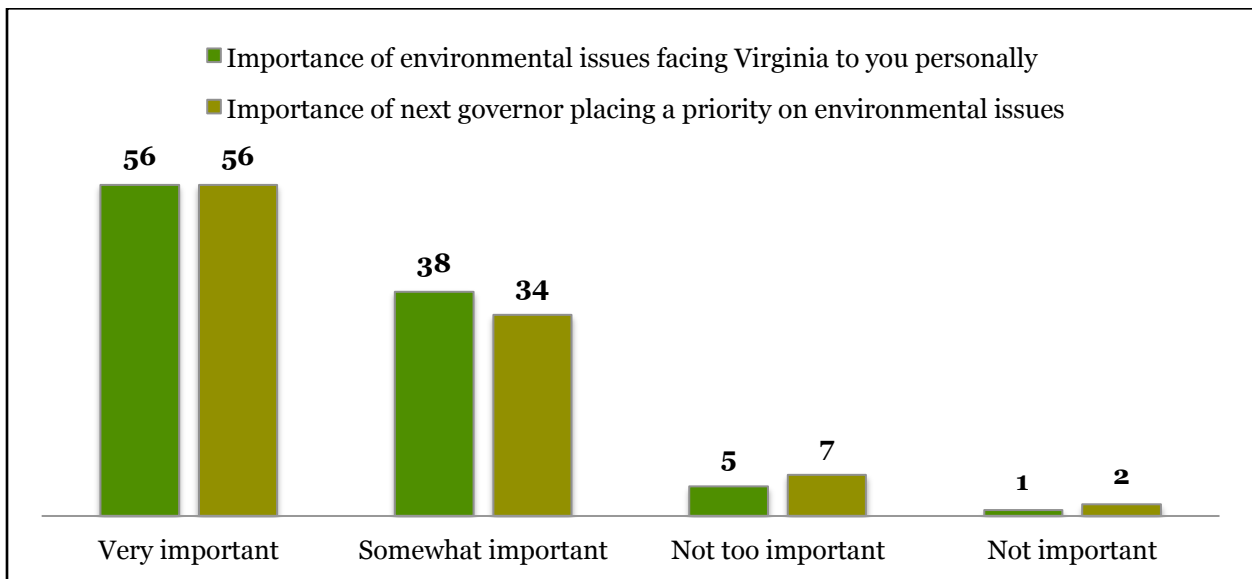


For many Virginians, the environment is equally a personal and public concern, and their personal concern mirrors their desire that the next governor give environmental issues considered attention. These findings suggest that Virginia voters would be supportive of the next governor placing environmental policy high on the decision agenda. As Figure 2 shows, a majority of voters (56%) say that environmental issues are “very important” to them personally and that they want the next governor to place a priority on environmental issues such as clean air, clean water, and conservation of open spaces and natural resources.

¹ 1997 grade from a March 1997 survey by Peter D. Hart Research Associates for the Virginian Environmental Endowment. All other grades from Wason Center surveys for the Virginia Environmental Endowment.

Less than 10 percent of voters say the natural environment is either “not too important” or “not important at all” to them (6% combined), and less than 10% say that it is “not too important” or “not important at all” that the next governor place a priority on environmental issues such as clean air, clean water, and conservation of open spaces and natural resources.

Figure 2: Importance of environmental issues personally and importance of next governor placing a priority on environmental issues

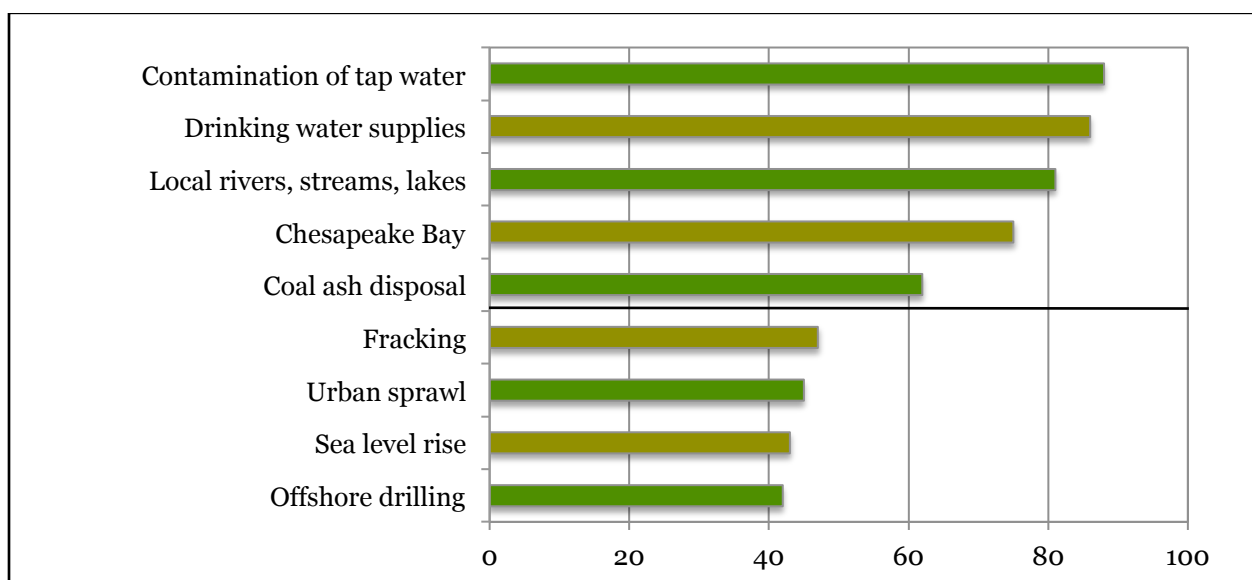


Water quality concerns top the list of environmental issues for Virginia voters

As Figure 3 shows, five issues are considered “very important” environmental issues facing the Commonwealth right now by more than a majority of Virginians: contamination of tap water; adequacy of drinking water supplies; pollution of local rivers, streams, and lakes; health of the Chesapeake Bay; and safe disposal of coal ash from power plants. Safety of tap water tops the list with nearly nine-in-ten (88%) saying it is a “very important” environmental issue facing Virginia, while another 85% say drinking water supply is a “very important” issue. Over eight-in-ten (81%) say pollution of local rivers, streams, and lakes is “very important”, followed by health of the Chesapeake Bay at 75% and safe disposal of coal ash from power plants at 62%.

Four issues are of less concern to Virginia voters: fracking for natural gas in coastal areas, urban sprawl (and the related loss of open space and natural areas), sea level rise, and offshore oil and gas drilling. For each issue, less than half say the issue is a “very important” issue facing Virginia: 47% for fracking, 45% for urban sprawl, 43% for sea level rise, and 42% for offshore drilling. This may be due the regional nature of these issues and a large percentage of voters being uninformed about them.

Figure 3: Percentage of Virginia voters who think certain environmental issues facing Virginia right now are “very important”



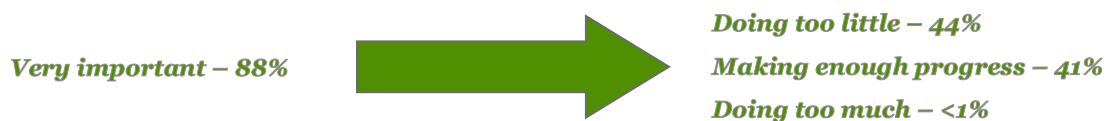
Virginia voters hold mixed views on environmental progress

Virginia voters have mixed views about the progress being made on environmental issues facing the Commonwealth, as Figure 4 shows, but on three issues more say “too little” is being done than say “enough progress” is being made. A majority of 55% think the Commonwealth is doing “too little” to address adequacy of drinking water supplies, while 44% say “too little” is being done to address contamination of tap water, and 44% say “too little” is being done on fracking for natural gas in coastal areas. Views are mixed on progress being made on the health of the Chesapeake Bay, with slightly more saying “enough progress” is being made than say “too little” is being done. Views on progress as it relates to the Chesapeake Bay may very well have been influenced by recent news before the survey was conducted pointing out improvement in the Bay’s health.

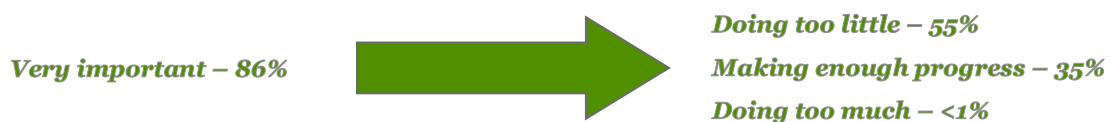
On three issues – pollution of local rivers, streams, and lakes; sea level rise; and urban sprawl and loss of open space and natural areas – a majority of voters say the Commonwealth is “making enough progress” in addressing the issue. Finally, by a two-to-one margin, more voters say “enough progress” is being made in addressing the issues of offshore gas and oil drilling and safe disposal of coal ash from power plants.

Figure 4: Importance of issue and how much progress is being made to address the issue

Contamination of tap water:



Adequacy of drinking water supplies:



Pollution of local rivers, streams, and lakes:

Very important – 81%



Doing too little – 32%
Making enough progress – 59%
Doing too much – <1%

Health of the Chesapeake Bay:

Very important – 75%



Doing too little – 43%
Making enough progress – 47%
Doing too much – <1%

Safe disposal of coal ash from power plants:

Very important – 62%



Doing too little – 23%
Making enough progress – 45%
Doing too much – <1%

Fracking for natural gas in coastal areas:

Very important – 47%



Doing too little – 44%
Making enough progress – 41%
Doing too much – 1%

Urban sprawl - loss of open space & natural areas:

Very important – 45%



Doing too little – 21%
Making enough progress – 66%
Doing too much – 3%

Sea level rise:

Very important – 43%



Doing too little – 16%
Making enough progress – 65%
Doing too much – 2%

Offshore oil and gas drilling:

Very important – 42%

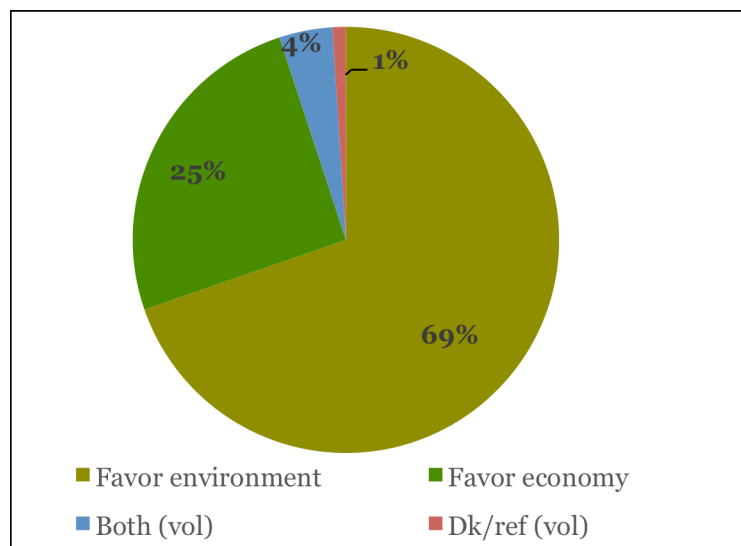


Doing too little – 23%
Making enough progress – 45%
Doing too much – 9%

On policy, Virginians see little conflict between the environment and the economy, and most say they want action on the environment

Asked to choose between economic growth or the environment, Virginia voters choose the environment by a greater than two-to-one margin. Given the choice between two statements: “protection of the environment should be given priority, even if it curbs economic growth a little” or “economic growth should be given priority, even if Virginia’s environment suffers a little because of it,” 69% of voters say their views are closer to protecting the environment at the expense of the economy while 25% say their views are close to favoring economic growth over protecting the environment. A small proportion of voters (4%) refused to choose and instead volunteered that they preferred both statements equally.

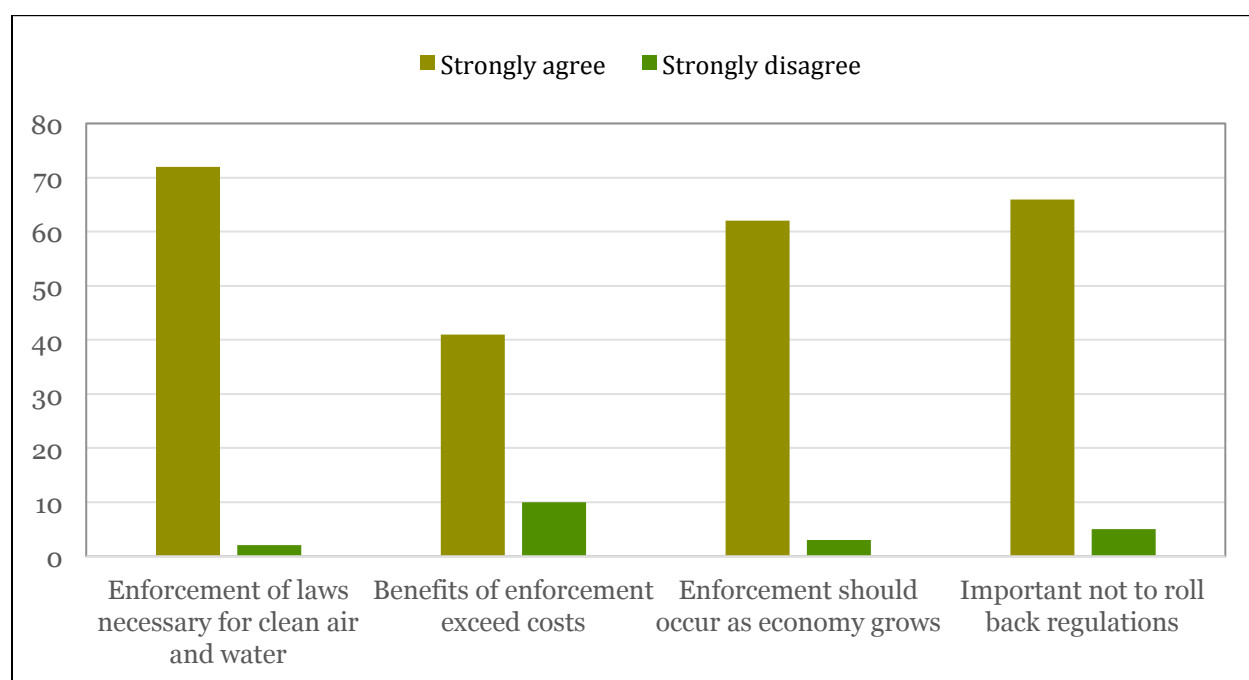
Figure 5: Which statement comes closest to your view...



Virginia voters express little interest in rolling back clean air and clean water regulations, and fully support their enforcement, as demonstrated in Figure 6 below. Large majorities say they “strongly agree” with the statements: “common sense enforcement of clean air and clean water laws and regulations is necessary to keep Virginia’s air and water clean and safe” (72%), “it is important not to roll back clean air and clean water laws and regulations” (66%), and “tough and fair enforcement of clean water and clean air laws and regulations should occur at the same time we grow the economy” (62%). Four times as many voters agree with the statement “the benefits of enforcement of clean air and clean water laws and regulations greatly exceeds the costs”

(41% to 10%). The highest levels of disagreement are registered on the issue of benefits versus costs, where 10% say they “strongly disagree” that the benefits of enforcement of clean air and clean water laws and regulations greatly exceed the costs.

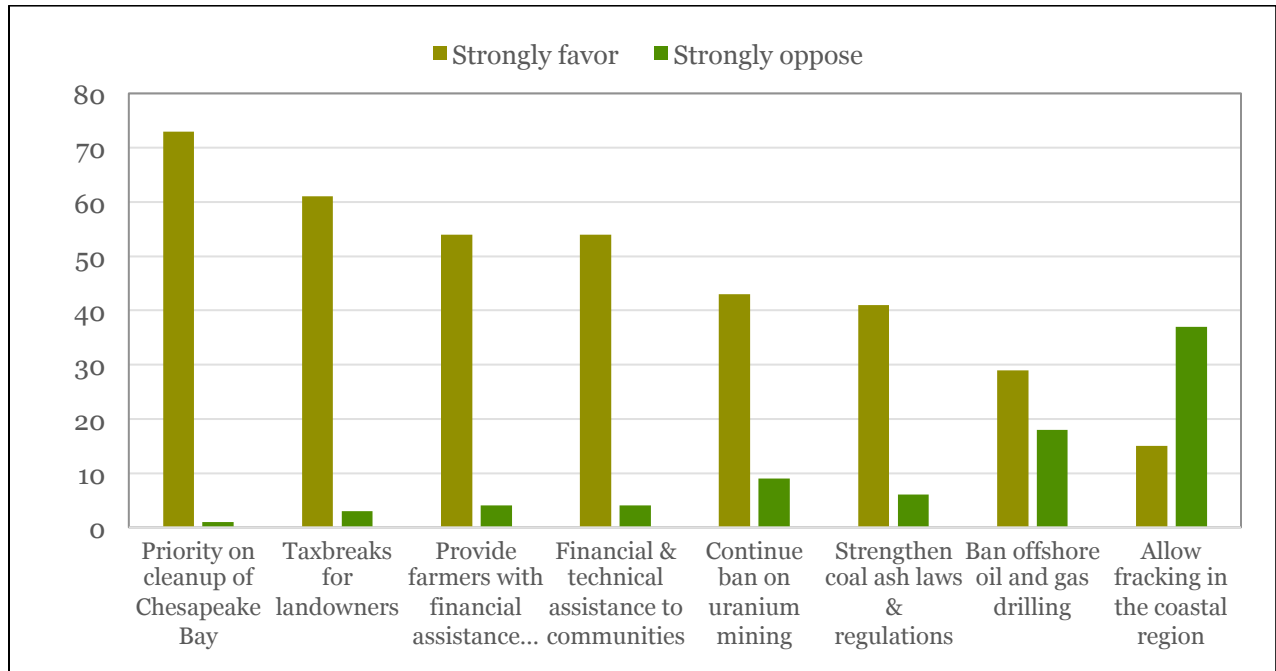
Figure 6: Percentage of Virginia voters who “strongly agree” and “strongly disagree” with certain policy statements



As Figure 7 shows, Virginia voters mostly support policies that are already in place. Large majorities of Virginia voters say they strongly support “continuing to place a priority on the cleanup of the Cheseapeake Bay” (73%), and “Continuing to provide state tax credits for landowners who voluntarily preserve farmland, forests, open spaces, and natural areas and historic sites” (61%), while simple majorities say they strongly support “Continue to provide farmers with financial assistance to reduce pollution from fields and barnyards” (54%) and “Provide state financial and technical assistance to communities experiencing the impacts of recurrent flooding” (54%). A plurality of voters strongly supports “Continuing the ban on uranium mining” (43%) and “Strengthening Virginia’s coal ash laws and regulations” (41%)

Voter opinions are either mixed or opposed to two other policy issues: “Ban offshore oil and gas drilling” (29% strongly support while 18% strongly oppose) and “Allowing for the first time fracking for natural gas in the coastal region of Virginia” (37% strongly oppose while 15% strongly support).

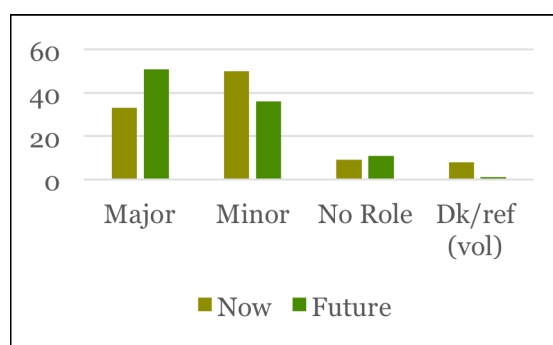
Figure 7: Percentage of Virginia voters who “strongly support” and “strongly oppose” certain policy proposals



Virginians think the federal government should play bigger role than it currently does and want to continue federally-led actions

When it comes to the role of the federal government in protecting Virginia's environment and natural resources, Virginia voters would welcome a greater federal role in the future. There is an 18-point gap between the percentage of respondents who say the federal government currently plays a major role and those who say the federal government should play a major role in the future (33% to 51%), and a similarly-sized gap between respondents who say the federal government currently plays a minor role and those who say the federal government should play a minor role in the future (50% to 36%). Similar percentages (9% and 11%) say the federal government currently plays no role and should play no role in the future.

Figure 8: Role federal government plays vs future role it should play



Virginia voters express overwhelming support for continuing the federal-state partnership involving working with five other states to implement the “Blueprint” to clean up the Chesapeake Bay and the state continuing to work to reduce carbon dioxide emissions from power plants, even if federal requirements are rolled back. In both cases, voters strongly support continuing the policies, 94% support for the Bay “Blueprint” and 87% support for reducing carbon dioxide emissions.

Figure 9: Continuing to implement Chesapeake Bay “Blueprint”

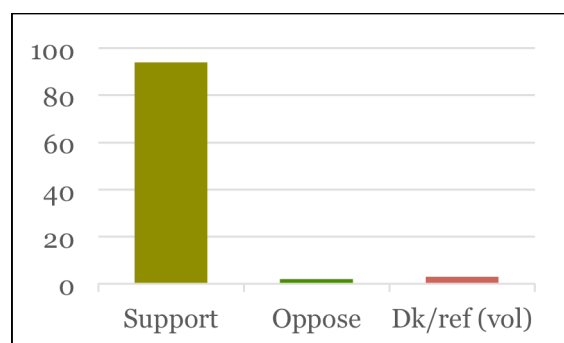
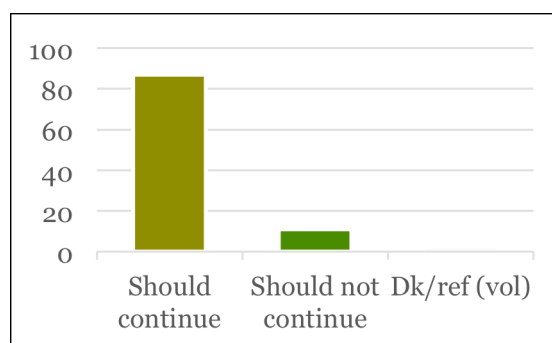


Figure 10: Continuing to reduce carbon dioxide emissions



Support for increased funding, environmental literacy

Finally, Virginia voters say they support two ideas: to increase state funding for natural resources and environmental programs and to include environmental literacy requirements in high school curriculum. Historically, Virginia has spent less than one-percent of its state budget on protection and management of natural resources, and by a more than three-to-one margin, Virginia voters say they support increasing this amount. Only 19% of voters say the state spends enough, and another 10% say state spending is either too high or they don't know.

Nearly three-fourths (74%) of voters say they support placing a greater priority on additional environmental literacy requirements for high school graduates in Virginia, similar to proposals being made in some other states. A quarter (24%) would oppose adding environmental literacy requirements to the Commonwealth's high school curriculum.

Figure 11: Amount Virginia spends on environment...

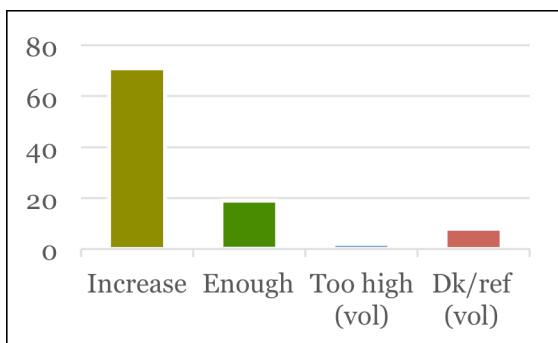
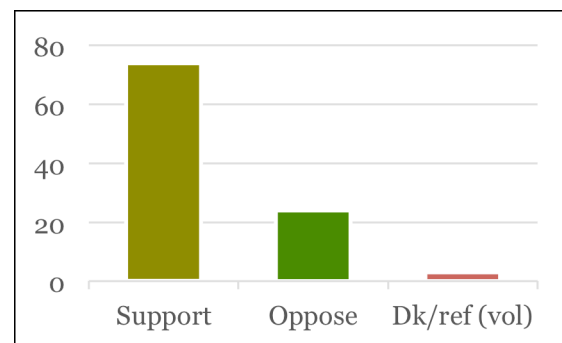


Figure 12: Environmental literacy requirements for high school...



Conclusions

This study demonstrates the fundamental importance that Virginia voters place on the Commonwealth's natural environment, their continued support for environmental policies that result in a better quality of life, and their continued desire for public policies that address environmental issues.

- Virginians are proud of the Commonwealth's natural environment. It is important to them, and they want it to be important to public officials and the next governor as well.
- The most important environmental policy issues for Virginia voters – and the ones they worry too little is being done address - relate to water, ranging from drinking water supplies and tap water contamination to pollution of local rivers, streams, and lakes or the Chesapeake Bay.
- Virginia voters want action on environmental policy – from both the state and federal governments - and do not favor rolling back clean air and clean water laws and regulations. In fact, a majority of voters want to see the federal government's role in protecting Virginia's environment increased in the future.
- Virginians generally don't see a conflict between environmental protection and economic growth. They believe common sense enforcement of clean air and water laws is needed to protect the state's natural resources.
- Virginians support a range of environment related policies including continued tax credits for land conservation, greater environmental literacy requirements for students, increased state funding for natural resource programs, continued financial assistance to farm conservation practices, and state assistance to communities experiencing the impacts of recurrent flooding.
- Some policies have less support such as allowing fracking for natural gas for the first time in the coastal region of Virginia, while views range on others such as banning offshore oil and gas drilling.

How the survey was conducted

This study is based on 826 interviews of registered Virginia voters, including 382 on landline and 443 on cell phone, conducted Jan. 29 – Feb. 12, 2017. Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding. The margin of error for the whole survey is +/- 3.7 % at the 95% level of confidence. **This means, for example, that if 50% of respondents indicate a particular view on a given issue, we can be 95% confident that the population's view on that issue is between 46.3% and 53.7%.** All error margins have been adjusted to account for the survey's design effect, which is 1.2 in this survey. The design effect is a factor representing the survey's deviation from a simple random sample, and takes into account decreases in precision due to sample design and weighting procedures. Sub samples have a higher margin of error. In addition to sampling error, the other potential sources of error include non-response, question wording, and interviewer error. The response rate (AAPOR RRI Standard Definition) for the survey was 18%. Five callbacks were employed in the fielding process. Live calling was conducted by trained interviewers at the Wason Center for Public Policy Survey Research Lab at Christopher Newport University. The data reported here are weighted using an iterative weighting process on sex, age, race and region of residence to reflect as closely as possible the demographic composition of Virginia.

Full Survey Toplines

Q1: Using a letter grade of “A,” “B,” “C,” “D,” or “F,” how would you grade the overall quality of the natural environment in Virginia today – A grade of “A” means excellent and a grade of “F” means very poor. What grade would you give Virginia’s environment?

A, Excellent (5)	10%
B, Good (4)	51
C, Average (3)	33
D, Poor (2)	4
F, Very poor (1)	1
Dk/Refused (vol.) (0)	1

Q2: How important are environmental issues facing Virginia to you personally? Would you say they are...

Very important	56%
Somewhat important	38
Not too important	5
Not important at all	1
Dk/ref (vol)	-

Q3. Next year Virginia will elect a new governor. How important is it to you personally that the next governor place a priority on clean air, clean water, and conservation of open spaces and natural resources? Would you say it is...

Very Important	56%
Somewhat important	34
Not too important	7
Not important at all	2
Dk/Refused (vol.)	1

I’m going to describe several environmental issues facing Virginia right now, and would like to know how important you think each one is. For each issue please tell me whether you think it is... **[RANDOMIZE Q4A-I]**

Q4A. Pollution of local rivers, streams, and lakes

Very important	81%
Somewhat important	17
Not too important	1
Not important at all	1
Dk/ref (vol)	-

Q4B. Contamination of tap water

Very important	88%
Somewhat important	9
Not too important	2
Not important at all	1
Dk/ref (vol)	-

Q4C. Health of the Chesapeake Bay

Very important	75%
Somewhat important	22
Not too important	2
Not important at all	1
Dk/ref (vol)	-

Q4D. Urban sprawl and loss of open space and natural areas

Very important	45%
Somewhat important	40
Not too important	10
Not important at all	4
Dk/ref (vol)	1

Q4E. Adequacy of drinking water supplies

Very important	86%
Somewhat important	10
Not too important	3
Not important at all	1
Dk/ref (vol)	-

Q4F. Sea level rise

Very important	43%
Somewhat important	31
Not too important	13
Not important at all	10
Dk/ref (vol)	3

Q4G. Safe disposal of coal ash from power plants

Very important	62%
Somewhat important	28
Not too important	5
Not important at all	2
Dk/ref (vol)	2

Q4H. Fracking for natural gas in coastal areas

Very important	47%
Somewhat important	30
Not too important	10
Not important at all	9
Dk/ref (vol)	4

Q4I. Offshore oil and gas drilling

Very important	42%
Somewhat important	36
Not too important	13
Not important at all	8
Dk/ref (vol)	3

I'm going to mention some specific policies that affect the environmental health of Virginia, and for each one please tell me if you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose the policy. **[RANDOMIZE Q5A-H]**

Q5A. Continue to provide farmers with financial assistance to reduce pollution from fields and barnyards.

Strongly support	54%
Somewhat support	33
Somewhat oppose	7
Strongly oppose	4
Dk/ref (vol)	2

Q5B. Strengthen Virginia's coal ash laws and regulations

Strongly support	41%
Somewhat support	34
Somewhat oppose	11
Strongly oppose	6
Dk/ref (vol)	9

Q5C. Continue the ban on uranium mining

Strongly support	43%
Somewhat support	23
Somewhat oppose	12
Strongly oppose	9
Dk/ref (vol)	13

Q5D. Continue to provide state tax credits for landowners who voluntarily preserve farmland, forests, open spaces, and natural areas and historic sites.

Strongly support	61%
Somewhat support	29
Somewhat oppose	5
Strongly oppose	3
Dk/ref (vol)	3

Q5E. Continue to place a priority on the cleanup of the Chesapeake Bay and its rivers and streams.

Strongly support	73%
Somewhat support	24
Somewhat oppose	2
Strongly oppose	1
Dk/ref (vol)	1

Q5F. Ban offshore oil and gas drilling.

Strongly support	29%
Somewhat support	27
Somewhat oppose	20
Strongly oppose	18
Dk/ref (vol)	6

Q5G. Allow for the first time fracking for natural gas in the coastal region of Virginia.

Strongly support	15%
Somewhat support	24
Somewhat oppose	17
Strongly oppose	37
Dk/ref (vol)	8

Q5H. Provide state financial and technical assistance to communities experiencing the impacts of recurrent flooding.

Strongly support	54%
Somewhat support	34
Somewhat oppose	5
Strongly oppose	4
Dk/ref (vol)	3

Q6: I'm going to read two statements about the environment and the economy and I want you to tell me which one comes closest to your view.

[RANDOMIZE: "Protection of the environment should be given priority, even if it curbs economic growth a little" OR "Economic growth should be given priority, even if Virginia's environment suffers a little because of it."]

Environment	69%
Economic growth	25
Equal/both (vol.)	4
Dk/Refused (vol.)	1

Q7: Thinking about the federal government, please tell me how much of a role, if any, you think the federal government plays right now in protecting Virginia's environment and natural resources. Would you say it plays a major role, a minor role, or no role at all?

Major	33%
Minor	50
No role	9
Dk/Refused (vol.)	8

Q8: And what about in the future...please tell me how much of a role, if any, you think the federal government should play in the future in terms of protecting Virginia's environment and natural resources. Would you say it should play a major role, a minor role, or no role at all?

Major	51%
Minor	36
No role	11
Dk/Refused (vol.)	1

Q9: For over 30 years, Virginia has worked with the federal government, five other states, and the District of Columbia to restore the Chesapeake Bay, including recently implementing a new “Blueprint” to clean up the Bay. Do you support or oppose Virginia continuing to implement its part of the “Blueprint” to clean up the Bay?

Support	94%
Oppose	2
Dk/Refused (vol.)	3

Ok, thank you. Now I’m going to read a list of specific environmental protection issues facing Virginia. For each one please tell me if the state is making enough progress, doing too little, or doing too much to address the issue. **[RANDOMIZE Q10A-I]**

Q10A. Pollution of local rivers, streams, and lakes

Doing too little	36%
Making enough progress	53
Doing too much	2
Dk/ref (vol)	9

Q10B. Contamination of tap water

Doing too little	47%
Making enough progress	38
Doing too much	1
Dk/ref (vol)	14

Q10C. Health of the Chesapeake Bay

Doing too little	47%
Making enough progress	42
Doing too much	1
Dk/ref (vol)	10

Q10D. Urban sprawl and loss of open space and natural areas

Doing too little	34%
Making enough progress	47
Doing too much	6
Dk/ref (vol)	13

Q10E. Adequacy of drinking water supplies

Doing too little	58%
Making enough progress	31
Doing too much	1
Dk/ref (vol)	10

Q10F. Sea level rise

Doing too little	28%
Making enough progress	40
Doing too much	8
Dk/ref (vol)	24

Q10G. Safe disposal of coal ash from power plants

Doing too little	29%
Making enough progress	36
Doing too much	4
Dk/ref (vol)	31

Q10H. Fracking for natural gas in coastal areas

Doing too little	21%
Making enough progress	38
Doing too much	14
Dk/ref (vol)	27

Q10I. Offshore oil and gas drilling

Doing too little	28%
Making enough progress	38
Doing too much	11
Dk/ref (vol)	23

I’m going to read a few statements about enforcement of clean air and clean water laws and regulations, and for each one, please tell me whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat or disagree strongly. **[RANDOMIZE Q11A-D]**

Q11A. Common sense enforcement of clean air and clean water laws and regulations is necessary to keep Virginia’s air and water clean and safe.

Agree strongly	72%
Agree somewhat	22
Disagree somewhat	1
Disagree strongly	2
Dk/ref (vol)	3

Q11B. The benefits of enforcement of clean air and clean water laws and regulations greatly exceeds the costs.

Agree strongly	41%
Agree somewhat	28
Disagree somewhat	15
Disagree strongly	10
Dk/ref (vol)	6

Q11C. Tough and fair enforcement of clean water and clean air laws and regulations should occur at the same time we grow the economy.

Agree strongly	62%
Agree somewhat	30
Disagree somewhat	4
Disagree strongly	3
Dk/ref (vol)	2

Q11D. It is important not to roll back clean air and clean water laws and regulations.

Agree strongly	66%
Agree somewhat	17
Disagree somewhat	9
Disagree strongly	5
Dk/ref (vol)	3

Ok, thanks. I have just a few more questions...

Q12: The federal government has required states like Virginia to reduce polluting carbon dioxide emissions from power plants, however there is some talk that this requirement may be rolled back. If this requirement is rolled back, do you think Virginia should continue to work to reduce polluting carbon dioxide emissions from power plants or not?

Should continue	87%
Should not continue	11
Dk/Refused (vol.)	2

Demographics

EDUCATION:

High school or less	10%
Some college	22
Vocational or technical training	2
College graduate	32
Graduate study or more	33
Dk/Refused (vol.)	1

INCOME:

Under \$25,000	4%
\$25-\$49,999	13
\$50-\$74,999	16
\$75-\$99,999	16
\$100,000-\$149,999	16
Over \$150,000	23
Dk/Refused (vol.)	12

LATINO:

Yes	4%
No	96

RACE:

White	72%
Black or African American	19
Other	9

PARTYID:

Democrat	34%
Republican	27
Independent	35
No preference(vol.)	2
Other party (vol.)	<1
Dk/Refused (vol.)	2

Q13: Virginia has historically spent less than one cent of every state dollar on protecting and managing our natural resources. Would you support increasing this amount, or do you think that amount is enough?

Increase	71%
Enough	19
Too high (vol)	2
Dk/Refused (vol)	8

Q14: Some states are considering having additional environmental literacy requirements for high school graduation. Would you support or oppose Virginia placing a greater priority on environmental literacy requirements for high school graduates?

Support	74%
Oppose	24
Dk/Refused (vol)	3

[ASK ONLY OF INDEPENDENT/NO PREFERENCE/OTHER PARTY ABOVE] PARTYLN:

Lean Republican	35%
Lean Democratic	40
Does not lean	17
Dk/Refused (vol.)	8

IDEOL:

Strong liberal	7%
Liberal	14
Moderate, leaning liberal	25
Moderate, leaning conservative	22
Conservative	16
Strong Conservative	9
Dk/Refused (vol.)	6

Sex: [INTERVIEWER CODE]

Male	49%
Female	51

AGE: (Recorded as exact year of birth)

18-24	5%
25-34	11
35-44	17
45-54	23
55 & older	44

REGION:

Northern Virginia	33%
Richmond/Central	21
Hampton Roads	24
South/Southwest	22